

Message Text

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ALL NATO CAPITALS

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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 01 OF 03 USNATO 09707

BELGRADE FOR USDEL CSCE

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: CSCE, NATO

SUBJECT: CSCE/CBMS: OCTOBER 6 POLADS DISCUSSION

REFS: (A) STATE 239233 DTG 042334Z OCT 77, (B) STATE
197382 DTG 190041Z AUG 77, (C) STATE 218519 DTG 13009Z
SEP 77, (D) USNATO 9466 DTG 318327 OCT 77 (E) NATO 8795
DTG 141717Z SEP 77

SUMMARY. AT THEIR OCTOBER 6 MEETING, POLADS WELCOMED
US VIEWS (REF A). SEVERAL REPS HAD INSTRUCTED REACTIONS
TO FRG "COMPROMISE FORMULATION", WHICH SOME BELIEVED
SHOULD SERVE AS A BASIS FOR FURTHER POLADS WORK ON
MOVEMENTS CBMS. SOME REPS AGAIN EXPRESSED CONCERN ABOUT
PACE OF CONSULTATIONS ON THIS ISSUE AND SUGGESTED THAT
POLADS PREPARE A REPORT FOR ALLIED REPS IN BELGRADE ON
THE STATUS OF THEIR WORK IF CONSENSUS IS NOT ACHIEVED
BY OCTOBER 17. ACTION REQUESTED: SEE PARA 8. END
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SUMMARY.

1. US VIEWS. (WE CIRCULATED BASIC TEXT IN REF A,
EXCEPT FOR PARAS 5 AND 11 ON WHICH WE DREW ORALLY, AND
PARA 13) POLADS WELCOMED US VIEWS ON ALLIED COMMENTS ON
US DRAFT MOVEMENTS PAPER, BUT DID NOT YET HAVE ANY
REACTIONS FROM CAPITALS. ITALIAN REP SAID (RE PARA 7,
REF A) HE WAS SURE HIS AUTHORITIES WOULD NOT AGREE TO AN

OBLIGATION TO NOTIFY MOVEMENTS FOR INTERNAL SECURITY REASONS, EVEN IF THESE MOVEMENTS COULD BE NOTIFIED IN LESS THAN THE REQUIRED ADVANCE PERIOD. NOR WOULD THEY AGREE TO EXPLAIN THE CIRCUMSTANCES REGARDING SUCH MOVEMENTS. ITALIAN AUTHORITIES NOW BELIEVED THAT IT WOULD NOT BE NECESSARY TO INCLUDE A SPECIFIC EXEMPTION FOR MOVEMENTS FOR INTERNAL SECURITY PURPOSES, PARTICULARLY IF THE LEVEL FOR NOTIFICATION WAS SET AT 25,000 TROOPS.

2. FRG PAPER (PARA 3 REF D). A NUMBER OF REPS HAD GUIDANCE ON THE "COMPROMISE FORMULATION" SUGGESTED BY THE FRG, AND SEVERAL RECOMMENDED THAT POLADS FOCUS ON THIS TEXT IN AN EFFORT TO ARRIVE AT A CONSENSUS. US REP SAID HE WOULD REPORT ALLIED COMMENTS BUT RECOMMENDED THAT POLADS CONTINUE TO FOCUS ON THE US PAPER (REF B) AND SUBSEQUENT US VIEWS.

(A) NETHERLANDS REP SAID HIS AUTHORITIES LIKED THE FRG FORMULATION. HOWEVER, THEY WERE CONCERNED THAT IF THE DISTANCE PARAMETER REFERRED ONLY TO "MORE THAN 200 KILOMETERS" IT COULD EXCLUDE MOVEMENTS FROM THE WESTERN MILITARY DISTRICTS OF THE SOVIET UNION THAT WERE OF CONCERN TO THE YUGOSLAVS. ACCORDINGLY, THE HAGUE PROPOSED MODIFYING THE FRG FORMULATION TO READ "EITHER MOVING OVER A DISTANCE OF MORE THAN 200 KM, OR MOVING FROM THE TERRITORY OF ONE PARTICIPATING STATE IN EUROPE INTO THE TERRITORY OF ANOTHER". NETHERLANDS REP NOTED THAT THIS

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FORMULATION DID NOT MAKE SPECIFIC REFERENCE TO "ACROSS AN INTERNATIONAL FRONTIER", AND HOPED THAT IT WOULD THEREBY BE ACCEPTABLE TO THE FRG.

(B) NOTING THE IMPORTANCE HIS AUTHORITIES ATTACHED TO THIS ISSUE, FRG REP DOUBTED HIS AUTHORITIES COULD ACCEPT THE NETHERLANDS PROPOSAL FOR THE FOLLOWING REASONS: THEY DID NOT WANT TO STRESS THE QUESTION OF EUROPEAN FRONTIERS; MOST RELEVANT ALLIED MOVEMENTS TOOK PLACE INTO THE FRG, AND THEY DID NOT WANT TO CALL SPECIAL ATTENTION TO SUCH MOVEMENTS; HYPOTHETICALLY, EVEN VERY SHORT MOVEMENTS OF A SIGNIFICANT SIZE ACROSS THE FRG-BELGIAN BORDER, FOR EXAMPLE, WOULD ALMOST HAVE TO BE NOTIFIED. COMMENTING ON THE GENERAL APPROACH OF HIS AUTHORITIES, FRG REP SUGGESTED THE ALLIES SHOULD NOT AIM TOO HIGH AT BELGRADE IN REGARD TO MOVEMENTS CBM. IT WOULD BE SUFFICIENT TO ACHIEVE ACCEPTANCE OF A LIMITED STEP, TO ASSESS HOW MOVEMENTS NOTIFICATIONS WERE IMPLEMENTED FOLLOWING BELGRADE, AND TO SEEK APPROPRIATE AMENDMENTS AT A FUTURE CSCE REVIEW MEETING.

(C) CANADIAN REP SAID OTTAWA COULD ACCEPT THE FRG PRO-

POSAL AS A BASIS FOR FURTHER WORK. CANADIAN INSTRUCTIONS, PREPARED BEFORE RECEIPT OF US VIEWS, EXPRESSED PREFERENCE FOR REPLACING THE DISTANCE WITH DOTS IN TACTICAL USE OF THE FRG FORMULATION.

(D) BELGIAN REP SAID HIS AUTHORITIES WERE ALSO ATTRACTED TO THE FRG FORMULATION. THEY RECOGNIZED THAT THE YUGO-SLAVS AND OTHERS WOULD WANT REFERENCE TO CROSSING INTERNATIONAL FRONTIERS. HOWEVER, FOR A SMALL COUNTRY LIKE BELGIUM, WHOSE TROOPS CROSS FREQUENTLY INTO THE FRG, TYING NOTIFICATIONS TO FRONTIER CROSSING COULD POSE

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PROBLEMS. BELGIUM COULD NOT ACCEPT REFERENCE TO CROSSING FRONTIER IF TROOP LEVEL WAS 10,000 BUT COULD PROBABLY ACCEPT SUCH REFERENCE AT 25,000 LEVEL.

(E) NORWEGIAN REP SAID OSLO COULD ALSO ACCEPT THE FRG FORMULA. HOWEVER, OSLO WAS UNCERTAIN ABOUT THE CLARITY OF THE PHRASE "DURING A PERIOD OF THIRTY CONSECUTIVE DAYS" AND BELIEVED "OVER A PERIOD OF UP TO THIRTY DAYS" WOULD BE MORE PRECISE. SEVERAL REPS THOUGHT NORWEGIAN CHANGE WAS LESS CLEAR AND UNNECESSARY.

(F) UK REP SAID LONDON THOUGHT THE FRG FORMULATION WAS A BIT TOO DETAILED, BUT WOULD BE PREPARED TO CONSIDER IT FURTHER.

(G) ITALIAN REP HOPED FRG FORMULATION COULD PROVIDE THE BASIS FOR A CONSENSUS.

3. TURKISH COMMENTS. TURKISH REP CIRCULATED PAPER TRANSMITTED BELOW. HE NOTED THAT THE PAPER WAS PREPARED BEFORE RECEIPT OF US VIEWS (REF A) AND BELIEVED HIS AUTHORITIES
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MIGHT WISH TO MODIFY THEIR APPROACH AFTER STUDYING US VIEWS.

BEGIN TEXT: TURKISH AUTHORITIES WOULD ONCE MORE LIKE TO STRESS THE IMPORTANCE OF THE NOTIFICATION OF MILITARY MOVEMENTS IN SO FAR AS THE SECURITY OF CERTAIN ALLIES ARE CONCERNED. IN THIS REGARD, THEY WOULD LIKE TO POINT OUT THAT ONLY THE NOTIFICATION OF MILITARY MOVEMENTS ASSOCIATED WITH MILITARY MANOEUVRES WILL NOT BE SUFFICIENT. THEREFORE, AMERICAN OPTION 1 IN THIS REGARD DOES NOT GO FAR ENOUGH.

THE TURKISH AUTHORITIES AGREE THAT INDEPENDENT AIR AND NAVAL MOVEMENTS SHOULD BE EXCLUDED FROM NOTIFICATION. APPLICABLE AREA FOR THE NOTIFICATION OF MILITARY MOVEMENTS SHOULD BE THE SAME AS FOR MILITARY MANEUVERS; THE TEXT OF THE FINAL ACT IS VALID.

THE LEVEL OF NOTIFIABLE MILITARY MOVEMENTS, IN THE OPINION OF THE TURKISH AUTHORITIES, SHOULD BE A DIVISION AND/OR 10-12 THOUSAND TROOPS.

THE TURKISH AUTHORITIES BELIEVE THAT IF THE DISTANCE OF A MILITARY MOVEMENT IS SHORTENED (LESS THAN 200 KM) IT WOULD BE TO THE BENEFIT OF ALLIED SECURITY SINCE THE AMOUNT OF NOTIFIABLE MILITARY MOVEMENTS WILL INCREASE. THE TURKISH AUTHORITIES AGREE WITH THE UNITED STATES DEFINITION OF TROOPS INCLUDED IN THE US PAPER.

IT IS IN THIS SPIRIT THAT THEY WOULD LIKE TO AMEND UNITED STATES OPTION NUMBER 2 IN THE FOLLOWING MANNER:
"NOT LATER THAN 30 DAYS IN ADVANCE OF THE FIRST DAY ON WHICH THE MOVEMENT NOTIFIED IS TO TAKE PLACE AND REGARDLESS OF THE MODE OF TRANSPORTATION INVOLVED, NOTIFICATION WILL BE GIVEN OF THE MOVEMENT INTO OR WITHIN THE APPLICABLE AREA, AS DEFINED BELOW, OF A DIVISIONAL LEVEL (OR
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10/12 THOUSAND TROOPS) OR MORE GROUND TROOPS (IN THIS CONTEXT "TROOPS" INCLUDES AMPHIBIOUS AND AIRBORNE TROOPS), IF SUCH TROOPS ARE MOVING FOR A COORDINATED PURPOSE, ARE MOVING IN UNITS OR, IF NOT IN UNITS, ARE MOVING DURING A

PERIOD OF 30 CONSECUTIVE DAYS; AND ARE MOVING EITHER OVER
A STRAIGHT-LINE DISTANCE OF MORE THAN 150 KM FROM THE
POINT OF ORIGIN OR ACROSS AN INTERNATIONAL FRONTIER TO A
DESTINATION WITHIN THE APPLICABLE AREA".
IN THIS CONTEXT, TURKISH AUTHORITIES WOULD LIKE TO STRESS
THAT THE CONTENT OF NOTIFICATION ASSUMES AN IMPORTANCE IN
SO FAR AS MILITARY MOVEMENTS ARE CONCERNED. THE FOLLOWING,
THEY BELIEVE, SHOULD TAKE PLACE IN THE NOTIFICATION
FORMAT:
A. NUMBER OF TROOPS INVOLVED IN THE MILITARY MOVEMENT
CONCERNED;

B. THE PURPOSE OF THE MILITARY MOVEMENT;

C. THE POINT OF DEPARTURE OR DEPARTURES OF THE FORCES
INVOLVED IN THE MOVEMENT AND THE POINT OF ARRIVAL IF
DEPLOYED WITHIN THE APPLICABLE AREA;
D. THE TIME WHICH THE INVOLVED MOVEMENT WILL TAKE;

E. POINTS OF CROSSINGS OF FRONTIERS IN EUROPE;
F. MODE OR MODES OF TRANSPORTATION;

G. WHETHER THE UNITS INVOLVED WILL RETURN TO THEIR
POINTS OF DEPARTURE AND IF SO WHEN. END TEXT.

4. FRENCH REP SAID THAT, FOLLOWING FURTHER CONSIDERATION
OF QUESTION OF MOVEMENTS CBMS, HER AUTHORITIES WOULD NOT
EXCLUDE THAT IF IT WERE TECHNICALLY ADVANTAGEOUS THEY
MIGHT JOIN A CONSENSUS ON THIS ISSUE AT BELGRADE. HOWEVER,

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THEY WOULD NOT JOIN A CONSENSUS ON ANY MOVEMENTS CBM PROPOSAL THAT PROVIDED FOR NOTIFICATION OF LESS THAN 25,000 TROOPS. MOREOVER, THEY WOULD STRONGLY PREFER TIME FRAME OF NOT MORE THAN 21 DAYS IN ADVANCE. FRENCH REP ALSO EXPRESSED GENERAL PREFERENCE FOR THE SPECIFICITY OF THE US OPTION II OVER THE FRG FORMULATION. IN RESPONSE TO OUR QUERY, PER PARA 5 REF A, FRENCH REP SAID HER AUTHORITIES CONTINUED TO BELIEVE IT WOULD NOT BE ADVISABLE FOR THE ALLIES TO ATTEMPT TO CHANGE THE PARAMETERS ON MANEUVERS AT BELGRADE, SINCE THE ALLIES WOULD HAVE TO GIVE SOMETHING IN EXCHANGE AND WOULD LIKELY LOSE MORE THAN THEY GAINED. FRANCE WOULD NOT ASSOCIATE ITSELF WITH AN ALLIED INITIATIVE ON MANEUVERS, BUT WOULD NOT OPPOSE A CONSENSUS ON THIS ISSUE. WITH REGARD TO MOVEMENTS, SHE REPEATED, HER AUTHORITIES HAD DETERMINED THAT THEY WOULD NOT JOIN A CONSENSUS THAT CALLED FOR NOTIFICATION OF MOVEMENTS BELOW THE 25,000 TROOP THRESHOLD.

5. FURTHER POLADS WORK: BELGIAN, TURKISH AND ITALIAN REPS SUPPORTED BY SOME OTHERS, URGED THAT IF POLADS DID
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NOT REACH A CONSENSUS BY OCTOBER 17, POLADS SHOULD PREPARE A PAPER TO BE FORWARDED TO ALLIED DELEGATIONS AT BELGRADE INDICATING POINTS OF AGREEMENT AND EXPLAINING REMAINING DIFFERENCES. US REP ARGUED AGAINST THIS COURSE AND AGAIN EMPHASIZED US INTEREST (PARA 8 REF D) IN ACHIEVING A COORDINATED ALLIED APPROACH BASED ON US MOVEMENTS PAPER WITH APPROPRIATE TEXTURAL CHANGES. UK REP SAW NO NEED FOR AN EARLY POLADS REPORT ON MOVEMENTS CBMS, SINCE ALLIED REPS AT BELGRADE WOULD BE KEPT INFORMED OF POLADS DISCUSSIONS.

6. COMMENT. IN OUR VIEW, OPTIONS FOR FURTHER POLADS WORK ARE:

(A) CONTINUE WORK ON MOVEMENTS CBMS AS IN PAST WEEKS. GIVEN THE PACE OF RECENT WORK, IT IS UNLIKELY THAT POLADS WOULD ARRIVE AT A CONSENSUS IN THE NEAR FUTURE.

(B) PREPARE A POLADS REPORT TO BE FORWARDED TO BELGRADE. WE BELIEVE SUCH AN EFFORT WOULD DISTRACT ATTENTION FROM WORK ON SUBSTANCE AND, GIVEN THE PRESENT RANGE OF VIEWS, WE SEE LITTLE PROSPECT OF ARRIVING AT OTHER THAN A CHAIRMAN'S REPORT IN THE NEAR FUTURE.

(C) CONTINUE TO PRESS FOR CONSENSUS ON THE US PAPER WITH

TEXTURAL CHANGES. THE DESIRE OF SEVERAL DELEGATIONS FOR SIMPLIFIED ALLIED OPTIONS WILL MAKE IT DIFFICULT TO ACHIEVE SUCH CONSENSUS.

(D) IF NECESSARY, SHIFT MAIN LOCUS OF ALLIED CONSULTATIONS ON MOVEMENTS CBMS TO BELGRADE WITH NO REPORT FROM POLADS.

WE BELIEVE THE BEST COURSE AT PRESENT IS TO CONTINUE WORK
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IN POLADS. HOWEVER, IN ORDER TO KEEP THE FOCUS ON THE US APPROACH, WE WILL REQUIRE PROMPT INSTRUCTIONS.

7. EVIDENT IN PERSONAL COMMENTS BY POLADS AT THE OCTOBER 6 MEETING WAS AN INCLINATION TO IDENTIFY ELEMENTS OF A MOVEMENTS CBMS FORMULATION (E.G., TIME FRAME, DISTANCE, TROOP LEVEL) ON WHICH POLADS MIGHT BE ABLE TO AGREE WITH THE EXPECTATION THAT THESE ELEMENTS COULD BE USED BY ALLIED REPS AT BELGRADE IN RESPONDING TO A NON-ALIGNED INITIATIVE. WHILE SUCH AN APPROACH MIGHT FACILITATE ALLIED CONSENSUS, IT IS AT VARIANCE WITH A COMPREHENSIVE APPROACH TO MOVEMENTS CBMS CONTAINED IN THE US PAPER (REF B).

8. ACTION REQUESTED: PROMPT GUIDANCE ON THE FRG FORMULATION (REF D) AND ON ALLIED COMMENTS REPORTED ABOVE. WE WOULD ALSO APPRECIATE GENERAL GUIDANCE ON APPROACH TO FURTHER POLADS WORK ON THIS SUBJECT.
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